Puberty

[841] 881 Menstruation was called paiya'hən (pai'ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little ceremony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 591 A young man went to a girl's house and remained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 613 The lineage was primarily a nuclear exogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 [152] The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

[P. 416] Tachi Chumut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai ´ya hai ´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance. ^

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwis). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[766] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic
[152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

^ [i.e., pleasure dances. - Analyst]

765 set the date for it. This reciprocal group was called gu'ui just as is the reciprocal tribe in the public Annual Mourning Ceremony.

On the day set the relatives-in-law, headed by one of their group, brought meat and clothing. With them came two or three singers (ahe'nač). The singers performed morning and evening, and the chief mourner, his relatives, and any others of his tribe who wished all wept [152] in accompaniment. This performance was called paho't:t and continued all night. Sometime during the night money was collected from the mourners by a winatum and the next day was taken to the reciprocants.

The next morning the washers' winatum got large baskets of water, and the visitors washed the faces of the chief mourners, combed their hair, and dressed them in new clothes. These chief mourners would be the immediately bereaved and close relatives, e.g., a man and his children mourning a dead wife, or parents and siblings mourning a dead child, etc. Thereafter the faces of less closely related mourners -- cousins, aunts, grandparents, etc. -- were washed.

Then a general feast was held, games were played, and one or two shamans might dance during the evening. The shamans were given money frequently in order to keep them dancing. Sometimes a woman or two would dance with them.

Thereafter the initial phase of mourning was over. A widower was free to remarry, [587] though many men did not do so at once. A widow was expected to remain single for at least a year. Any deeply bereaved person continued to maintain a depressed demeanor and refrained from meat until the annual mourning celebration was held. During the mourning period a woman busied herself making baskets which she gave to the relatives-in-law who washed her. She continued this industry in preparation for the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

Age Categories

561 From M.L.. Her distinctions are not very satisfactory from the point of view of European culture. My impression is that for Yokuts the span of life is, roughly, in four parts: birth to adolescence, adolescence to mature manhood (say 20 years), mannood, and old age.

wi'tep, wi'tipeč: baby, baby boy; any child under 3 years; literally, little one
gu'tum witep: baby boy
mo'k:s witep: baby girl
hi'am paha'ta witep gutum: now little male, i.e., boy [here referred specifically to Mason García, aged 5]
witep mu'k:s: little female, i.e., girl
hiam pahata gutum: now male; i.e., man [here referred specifically to Felix García, aged 10]

769 Ritual weeping.---Throughout the week a
767 group of professional mourning singers, the
152 tonoč·m, at dawn and at sunset sang mourning songs accompanied by wails of the bereaved. According to M.P., on these occasions the bereaved took out the effigy dolls, the gifts of money and baskets, and exhibited them by carrying them to the assembly fire. The singers and mourners all moved with a special dancelike step as they alternately sang and wept. The singers sang; then their leader held his hands forward palm down as a signal to cease, at which the mourners immediately broke into wails of grief. As soon as this was over, the effigies and treasures were retired to the special hut in which they were kept.

The informant M.L. maintained that the singers and mourners gathered outside the village for this ritual expression of grief, and Estudillo's encounter with a mourning chief retired from his village corroborates her statement. (Practices may have differed.)

> [I] continued eastward [from the Choinuk] and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives . . . .[379]

769 Effigy-making.---The first two days of the
532 week of the mourning ceremony (Monday and Tuesday) are devoted to the construction of the effigy dolls (woi´doš). These are made by women, one image for each person mourned. The basis of the doll was a cross of wood, the upright staff of which was about 5 feet long, the horizontal about 2-1/2 feet tied on about 18 inches from the top. "It must be high but not too heavy to carry when dancing" (J.P.). In old times the covering of the frame, making a sort of solid body, was of fine tule matting, more recently of calico. If the effigy was of a woman, a little basket cap was put on the head. Each image had quantities of beads hung about the neck, and especially made baskets with beads woven into them hung from the arms, back, and front. When finished, the effigies were placed in a specially constructed house at the assembly space and covered with blankets. While the mourners were thus engaged, the chief of the reciprocant tribe came and talked to them and they all wept in response. Here also were placed all the gifts and offerings for the final night of crying.

Huhuna Dance

769 On the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was given. This

[379] Ibid., 73.

[P. 128 a] Wukchumni

769 The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-
539 turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking their own two sticks together and whistling a high repeated note. They began to look for the money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the winatum could not find it so they had to dig it out themselves." M.L. said she was frightened when they drew near her. All the money they found they kept in little skin sacks which hung over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a shaman (on this occasion, Šá´maka, a Wukchumni) entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave him a tray (tai´'iwan) and a winatum built a fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his hand feather bunch (son:l) over the fire, then held his tray up to the sun to get airshot. Then he exposed it to the audience so all could see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and "asked him if he wanted to die by it." The Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough." So the shaman strengthened it, and on second inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray was returned to the shaman, he banged it violently on the ground twice. Each time a Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried them to one side, and immediately the host spectators came dragging long strands of money
● [152] which the winatums threw over the prostrate victims. Everyone present wept.

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, revived his two compatriots, and, making airshot at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman, who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman. The Huhunata received all the money thrown on them, but from this they had to pay their singers who had been singing for them throughout the performance. The local chief paid his own shamans for their part. J.P. said the affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

756 The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest
769 was called gokosyu n̄:t. It was a more or less
769 spontaneous affair and, if held at all, preceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The entrants in this were said to be "warming up" for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this little contest a single powerful shaman would sometimes take on two or three lesser ones. This trial also permitted novices to test their skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (hé´šwaš) was held on the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the

heavy, there were no shouts or urgings from the onlookers as there were at games: the spectators watched in sober silence.

The shamans assembled in two groups at opposite ends of the assembly space. With them were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·'u·'o·'o·'o·'" three times, and the audience would respond three times with "A·'a·'a·h!". During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh'! oh'! oh'!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the arrow shot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. The weasel-skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the tribes whose shamans had participated in the contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or

769 them, and these were grabbed by the women and
767 thrown over their shoulders into the baskets.
When the dance ended the tonoč.m retired with
their goods and then, giving a great shout,
they all ran to the river to swim. (Although
[783] this ending suggests a cleansing rite, it is
purely a ceremonial gesture as all informants
agreed that corpse-handlers were under no tabus
nor were they considered unclean after they had
performed a burial service.)

Effigy Parade

769 The remainder of the sixth day was spent in preparation for the evening. The reciprocants' winatums stacked wood for two extra-large fires, one at each end of the assembly space. The mourners had retired for constant weeping. When evening came, the reciprocant (gu'ui) tribe would sit near one fire; the non-participating members of the host or mourning tribe, by the other. Spectators from other tribes would be grouped at each side.

In the early evening the gu'ui's winatums called the active mourners and brought out the effigies and treasures for them to carry. Each doll was carried by a member of the same sex, usually the one nearest of kin to the deceased it represented. Other mourners carried money and gifts: men carried the shouldered treasure basket (osa) filled with money, while women carried basketry trays (koiyoto) laden with money, fine baskets, or valued ornaments. At about the hours of 9 p.m., 12 m., 2 a.m., and 4 a.m. these mourners, led by the group of singers, paraded around the fires with a curious halting step. On each alternate step the effigy-carriers held the staffs upright, on the others lowered them, pointing the doll heads toward the fire and making a feint at throwing them in. The others made the same feint with the treasures they carried. During the intervals between the parades the chief of the reciprocants rose to make a speech in which he referred to the deceased persons they were mourning and to the bereaved who had been enduring much sorrow and privation; he spoke of the effigies as if they were the actual corpses, saying how they were to be burned, destroyed, and forever forgotten, and how the mourners
● [152] might look forward to release from their grief. These simple topics were long drawn out to a continuous obligato of weeping from the mourners, who had again retired. At intervals the singers sang.

When it was time for the mourners to make the fourth and final circuit of the fires, a winatum told the reciprocants to line up by their fire. They did this while the mourners were parading about. The latter took up a position in line by their fire, the two groups being about fifty feet apart. Then at a signal from the managing winatum, the mourners threw

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe´biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

769 Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya´hixo) was performed on the night of the fifth day. The
● 152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the
[532] mourners filed in and around the fire. The chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate´ič) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

769 Washing ritual.--This duty (epla´oša) was
783 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of op-
[616] posite moieties. Then the others were washed, each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

769 Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
668 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

[177] The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance; abbreviatedly called su´yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo´´oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

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[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Poagisa were gi´´i only for the Kechayi Hutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 668 [798] which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there

103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain

131 t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the foot of the hills, on the Fresno River

kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)

nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 131 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold, Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come straight home. They got home, here, this is their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

[152 186]

166 222 People would move around, perhaps two or three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

[P. 1849] Chuckchansi

579 a group of Chukchansi who went over to the
674 Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans." About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

They would first steal clothing and horses
[262 to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure
492] a herd of horses to bring back for food. On the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't
● [152] kill them or anything." Meanwhile other Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to steal horses from another but nearer locality.
[262] Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San
[484] Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a

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[97] Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98] Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing further could be done to save him, his attend-
764 ants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty
[152] minutes. There were four official singers who
[481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
[177] the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the
178] established practice [probably about 1860, after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre-
[766] mated, according to Powers.[125] The old crema-tion place was g'o wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
[431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124]The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125]p. 383.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918); 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 apathetic, as is the wont. It is a game in which not sticks and luck but the tensest of wills, the keenest perceptions, and the suppliest of muscular responses are matched; and only rarely are the faculties of a Caucasian left sufficiently undulled in adult age to compete other than disastrously against the Indian practiced in his specialty. Seen in this light, the contortions, gesticulations, noises, and excitement of the native are not the mere uncontrolledness of an overgrown child, but the outward reflexes of a powerfully surcharged intensity, and devices that at once stimulate the contestant's energy still further and aid him in dazzling and confusing his opponent. There is possibly no game in the world that, played sitting, has, with equal intrinsic simplicity, such competitive capacities.

[152]

The Yaudanchi shuffled under a blanket instead of behind the back or in bunches of hay. Among the Chukchansi only women used the blanket.

Chomwosh is the guessing or matching of hidden fingers. It is too little described to allow of a decision between the possibilities of native and Mediterranean origin.

Dice was the woman's game. There were two forms. *Huchuwish* was played with 8 *huech*, half shells of nut filled with pitch or asphalt and bits of sea shell, thrown from both hands on a basketry tray, *t'aiwan*. The far-away Chemehuevi play this much like the southern Yokuts, though with 6 instead of 8 pieces; it appears to be a game of Shoshonean origin. The Chukchansi keep the name, but use 6 split acorn kernels. Beyond them, the course of the game becomes uncertain. For the Miwok nothing is known, and the Maidu seem to lack all dice. The Yaudanchi played for 12 counters, and the scoring ran: 5 of 8 flat surfaces up, 2 counters; 2 up, 1; any other number, none. The Chukchansi won by taking 10 counters, and considered only the possible combinations of falls, irrespective of side. Six to none counted 4 points; 4 to 2 or 3 to 3, 1; 5 to 1, nothing. Such variations seem to occur in all Californian games, even between adjacent areas.

The second dice game, *tachhuwish*, was played with 6 (or 8) split sticks, *dalak*, of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin.

There was a generic word, *goyuwinich*, for gambler. *Gwiunaushid mak*, "let us gamble," the Yaudanchi would say.

ÆSTHETICS.

517 Apart from basket patterns, there was no trace of activity of graphic or plastic art in Yokuts life. The images in the mourning ceremony were symbols of the rudest kind. Anything like the trac-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground.

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them.

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about."

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[55] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks
[317] with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All
[262] of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[55] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 she got out the fine baskets she had made to burn, and all of
769 father's things she had saved. Then she was ready for the Lonewis.

If some man lost a wife they fixed some clothes like a woman and burned it. If they lost a little boy or a girl they dressed it up like a boy or girl. For a baby they fixed it on a baby cradle and burned it. In the old days they made these people to burn out of tules and dressed them with beads and a man's breech clout or woman's skirt.

The morning of the second day the Teah sent his *Win-*
159 *at'-un* (messenger) to tell all the people to come together. He
769 talked to them for a long time. Then the people from each
624 tribe talked. They told about their dead people that they had been crying for. They told who they were and when they died. They told about how good the dead persons had been. By that time it was afternoon. They ate acorn mush and talked until about four o'clock. Then they all went back to their own shades and sat down.

Soon the Winatun came around to tell them to build their fires and get ready for the dancing and singing. He walked around the camp yelling this so everyone could hear. Then they all got ready. They built fires and got ready to dance all night.

The Winatun built a big fire in the middle of all the fires. It was made of dry oak and burned until the Lonewis was over. It was about twenty feet across. Some of the people carried wood for it almost all of the time.

159 At sundown everybody was ready. Nobody talked. Every-
769 thing was quiet. When we could just see *Ne'-waw Chi'-tus*, [the evening star], Tepwuhtra, the Teah, stood up in front
[152] of his fire. We all watched him. He called in a loud voice, "*He'-ahm tahn'-hin* [we are ready]." In a little while everyone was crying. Then they began to dance.

Most of the people danced around their own fires. Some danced around the fireplace for a while. They were singing to the big fire where they were going to burn their baskets and things. Then they went back to their own fires.

Most of the people sat close around their own fires and cried. They would rock back and forth and cry for awhile. Then they would sing. After awhile they would get up and dance and some of the others would sit down and cry and sing.
[539] This was one of the songs they sang:

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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182 do so profitably; yet this phase of integration is too complex to be entered into here and is really tangential to our focal interest—environment in culture. Hence only a few points will be mentioned.

182 First, the reiterative mechanism of seasonal environment may set up a condi-
153 tioned response in the individual reared in a seasonal ceremonial routine. We are accustomed to consider "conditioning" in small neural units, or as specific behavioral components, yet, in so small and simple a society as a Yokuts or Western Mono village the larger rhythms of social life must impress the infant from birth onward with increasing clarity and firmness. Just as the gross culture configurations are being absorbed, so must be the culture-environment configurations, and the environment's own configurations. By the time a youth has reached the verge of adulthood, the annual cycle of cultural events moving with the environmental cycle of weather, floral and faunal changes, has been repeated fifteen times. By this time too, the symbolic meaning of certain animals for his individual person—as primordial activators of his way of life, as tabu foods or as legal kill, as patrilineal totem, as source of supernatural powers—have been established, and he bears a personal relation to various animals, manifest in respectful actions. These actions are constantly evoked by the immediate presence of these creatures in his daily, common living as a Yokuts.

182 Dreams of animals were essential as a source of supernatural powers and
787 came both unsought and sought to these people. No depth psychology is needed
825 to understand the composition of their mental imagery, which had these things, and almost only these things, to draw on, in fact could not escape nor exclude them from constant sight. It has seemed probable to me, though I have no absolute evidence, that a considerable part of the Yokuts' occupation of thinking about ("day dreaming" about) animals, perhaps preferred ones if certain specific powers were desired, constituted as normal a mental activity as, say, reading in our own culture. In a sense, it was a pastime concerned with something not necessarily present, with standardized mental symbols and imagery but in no sense psychopathic unless (in either case) carried beyond the average behavioral norm. For Yokuts, any one who wanted to could have some minor supernatural powers, as convenient and useful; extremists became professional shamans.

● 152 There is some suggestion in my materials and experience with Yokuts and
182 Western Mono persons, that considerable emotion and anxiety surrounded the
787 dream-helper animal once a constant relationship had been established between
825 tutelary and protégé. Emotional pleasure, pride, and satisfaction ("security" perhaps) in the tutelary's benevolence, and anxiety over loss of this benevolence through either offense to the animal or of loss of the power to a malicious

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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shaman, was exhibited time and again. Of this I am sure: that the sense of intimacy between a person and "his" actual animals in the environment was deep and real. Thus, for example: "Rattlesnake is my poša; if he'd bitten any other horse it would have killed him sure—but it didn't kill *mine*";[24] "Eagle was mad at me; that's why my baby was sick" (excessive milk curds diagnosed as Eagles faeces in an infant's mouth). This association, between an individual and an animal, routed through the religious or social system, is the personalized aspect of the more general human-animal equation appearing in broader terms in the culture (as exemplified in the earlier anecdote).

In a culture with both material and intangible concern for features of its natural surroundings it seems difficult to dismiss environment as "of rather minor importance in personality formation."[25] Even though, "between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment [culture] which is vastly more significant,"[26] the role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance. It is possible that a basic element of the mental state known as nostalgia, or the state of intense uneasiness in strange surroundings, is the year by year, life long conditioning of an individual to a specific topographic configuration, flora, and fauna.[27] The subtle interplay of locale or geographic form and personal psychology have been disclosed in a recent study of Yurok childhood orientation.[28]

The intense immediacy of native environment in all its aspects is a condition not too easily realized by the academic field investigator from our own denaturalized civilization, especially when the people under study already have lost their aboriginal setting—as have most of our North American Indians. The natural condition might be succinctly stated as; the less culture, the more environment. The anthropologist is hyper-conscious of the cultural mechanism as the selective or distorting lens through which the native views his environment. But for the native the lens does not exist; he deals directly with the externals which impinge upon him. Environments are seen and modulated in terms of the reacting cul-

24 The ill-logic (in our thinking) that a "benevolent" rattlesnake should have bitten the man's horse *at all*, is completely submerged in the prideful satisfaction that the horse did not die, was merely temporarily ill and recovered.

25 Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), p. 11.

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Cf. Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: a Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, no. 52, 1938), pp. 12, 33.

28 Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 35, no. 10, 1943).

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People were often warned of coming sickness by a frightening experience devised by the doctor involved. In such a case the fright was considered the cause of death as much as the sickness itself. Thus a doctor would send a coyote to scare a man. The man seeing the coyote under peculiar circumstances would know at once that a doctor was after him and would bring on a self-induced illness. Doctors often frightened people by sending owls to hoot outside their houses at night.[83] A doctor might send a dove to a group of people sitting outdoors. It would fall down and die near some one, and that person was doomed. It was certain that a doctor had sent it, as no ordinary bird would do such a thing of its own accord. Doctors' supernatural messengers, foretelling death, also visited persons in dreams.

Two doctors might decide to kill another shaman. They took their basket trays and went off to some knoll which was their customary meeting place. Plain people did not dare go there. They would make a fire and talk the matter over. When they had decided what kind of death, that is slow or sudden, to inflict upon their victim, one of the doctors would get out his eagle bone whistle. He would run around the fire, whistling as he went. The other shaman would hold his tray up to the sun to get power on it. He talked to the sun. The magic "shot" that appeared he put on the tray; the shot is said to look like seeds or salmon eggs. Then the doctors exchanged activities, and the second doctor would get all the power that was left. Then they crashed the trays upon the ground and the shot flew off into their victim, no matter how far away. They would get a coyote to visit the house of the doomed man. During the night one of the doctors would go to the victim's house and walk around it. As he did so he would stamp on the ground, wave a talisman in the air, and say "Now I've got you!" (or an analogous phrase). The doctor within the house slept soundly: his own power was "covered up," and his dream helpers could not come to his aid. In two or three days he would fall ill. The malicious shaman would repeat his circuit of the house on several nights. The sick man would call some other doctor to cure him but it would be of no avail. The shaman called in might be able to diagnose the cause of the illness but he would be afraid to tell who the criminals were lest he be killed by them. The two conspiring shamans would continue to go out every night and talk to their dream helpers, saying, "I want that man to die!" Usually a slow death was visited upon the unfortunate shaman. During his illness the sick man would call on all his helpers; he would try all his talismans but they would be useless. He would die anyway unless he were a man with extraordinary supernatural power.[84]

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[83] Coyotes and owls were supernatural servants of shamans.

[84] The bulk of the information in this paragraph was given by Sam Osborn.

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all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu[illegible]-sa.

Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

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769 [30] had toiled for months, perhaps for years, circled and furred with hundreds of little quail-plumes, bespangled, scalloped, festooned, and embroidered with beadery until there was scarcely place for the handling; plumes, shawls, etc. Kolomusnim had a pretty plume of metallic-glistening ravens' feathers in his hand. But the most remarkable article was a great plume, 769 237 293 nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons—a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume contrasting so strangely with the tattered and howling savages over whom it gorgeously swayed and flaunted. [532] Another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing, to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomusnim.

769 786 ● 152 The beholding of all these things, some of which had belonged to the departed, and the strong contagion of human sorrow, wrought the Indians into a frenzy. Wildly they leaped and wailed; some flung themselves upon the earth and beat their breasts. There were constant exhortations to grief. Sloknich, sitting on the ground, poured forth burning and piercing words: "We have all one heart. All our hearts bleed with yours. Our eyes weep tears like a living spring. O, think of the poor, dead woman in the grave." Kolomusnim, a savage of a majestic presence, bating his garb, though a hesitating orator, was so broken with grief that his few sobbing words moved the listeners like a funeral knell. Beholding now and then a special friend in the circle, he would run and fall upon his knees before him, bow down his head to the earth, and give way to uncontrollable sorrow. Others of the mourners would do the same, presenting to the friend's gaze some object which had belonged to the lamented woman. The friend, if a man, would pour forth long condolences; if a woman, she would receive the mourner's head in her hands, tenderly stroke down her hair, and unite her tears and lamentations with her's. Many an eye, both of men and women, both of mourners and strangers, glistened in the flickering fire-light with copious and genuine tears.

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But amid all this heart-felt mourning there were occasional manifestations of purely mechanical grief that were amusing. The venerable Sloknich, though he was a gifted and thrilling orator, a savage Nestor, preserved a dry eye; but once in a while he would arise in his place and lift up his voice in mourning like a sandhill-crane, then presently sit down and [276] calmly light a cigarette. After smoking two or three, he would stand up and fire away again. Cigarettes were burning everywhere. An Indian would take one out of his mouth and give a prolonged and dolorous bellow, then take a few whiffs again.

Yet even these comical manifestations were so entirely in earnest that nobody thought of laughing at the time; and though one's sense of humor could not but make silent note of them the while, they were greatly overborne by the outpouring of genuine, unmistakable grief. So far even from smiling, one might, without being accused of sentimental weakness, have dropped a tear at the spectacle of these poor wretches, weeping not more perhaps for the loved and lost than over their own miserable and hapless destiny of extermination.

These demonstrations continued a long time, a very long time, and I 769
began to be impatient again, believing that the principal occasion had passed. It appeared afterward that they are compelled by their creed and custom to prolong the proceedings until daylight; hence this extreme deliberation.

But now, at last, about one o'clock in the morning, upon some preconcerted signal, there was a sudden and tumultuous rushing from all quarters of the quadrangle, amid which the interpreter and myself were almost borne down. For the first time during the night the women appeared conspicuously on the scene, thronged into the sacred circle, and quickly formed a ring close around the fire—a single circle of maidens, facing inward. The whole multitude of the populous camp crowded about them in confusion, jostling and struggling. A choir of male singers took their position hard by and commenced the death-song, though they were not audible except to the nearest listeners. 769

At the same instant the young women began their frightful dance, 786
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